47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

village had no one engaged in any income-producing activity besides the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. In the remaining households, there were a total of 54 government employees, both men and women, almost all of whom worked in the main town. In addition, there were persons employed outside government (mainly as laborers in various enterprises), or by one of the churches (usually as teachers in a church-run school). Besides people with jobs, there were people in the village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were six stores in the village, two women kept large flocks of chickens and sold the eggs to the big stores in the main town, there were three privately owned sheds that were hired for movies and dances or used as copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man operated a band, a woman had a dress-making shop in town, and so on. Other income-producing activities of people in the village included the cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the manufacture of handicrafts.

In many cases, the income-producing activities described here were not full-time occupations, nor were they the major source of income for the household. In most of the households in the village, subsistence production and copra production are the mainstay of the household, while other income-producing activities serve mainly to provide a more or less steady flow of cash. On the other hand, households with no source of supplementary income enjoy a noticeably lower standard of living. Among these, for example, there is a greater proportion of the old-style, coconut-thatch houses or old and shabby wooden houses—people without supplemental sources of cash income find it more difficult to obtain the large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick house.

The major part of the everyday cash requirements and other material needs of a household are provided for if the household has access to an agricultural allotment (*'api 'uta*). Although this is not the place to describe the Tongan system of land tenure in any detail,[11] the following notes will suffice to indicate the major elements involved in a household's having access to an allotment. In theory, every male over the age of 15 is entitled to an agricultural allotment of 8¼ acres registered in his name. In practice, however, about 60% of all who are eligible do *not* have land in their names (largely because of shortages stemming from the pressure of increasing population). Some men, on the other hand, have effective control over more than one allotment,

11 For articles dealing with the system of land tenure, see Maude (1972) and Nayacakalou (1959). In addition, refer to Rogers (1969) for a discussion of the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968) that focuses on the findings relating to population increase and its effects on land holding.

/240 cont./

000 opposite.

464 Nor do the Tongans like to hire themselves out for money--neither
465 to whites nor to their own people. There may be several reasons for
436 this attitude: First of all, these natives have considerably pride;
181 besides, the use of money in many areas of life is not in the Tongan tradition; (642)

642. See the request for things without quid pro quo (pp. 136-137) and the acknowledgement of work with good meals (pp. 137-139).

and finally, though money is quite useful to the natives of all the islands of the Archipelago (for going shopping at the stores), it is not all that vitally necessary, since they can themselves obtain everything that is absolutely essential for existence (except clothing) from the soil and the sea.

43 Thus today only a few Tongans who have a rather un-Tongan
181 enterprising spirit carry on a trade in the sense described above.
198 For example, in 1951/52 the native L., about 25 years old,
472 (who gained experience in Nuku'alfa as an auto mechanic, and also worked there as a carpenter and house painter and had visited Fiji and Samoa) buys himself an old broken down truck, on Tongatapu, for 90 £T. and spare parts for about 200 £T. He repairs the truck himself and has it transported to Lifuka on the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu," where he then drives it daily /241/ for hire by the islanders (especially
472 transporting copra and other freight, not so much passengers). In
477 order to "break into the business" and probably also because of genuine willingness to be helpful, L. charges 20 to 30 percent less
[434] for his trips than his "competitors." He takes in 6 to 7 £T. a day and will pay off the cost of the purchase of his vehicle in about three months.

472 St., who is about 20 years old, and says he has an English

/241 cont./

472 grandfather, also started a trucking service on Lifuka with a truck
(434) that he bought secondhand for 300£T. He makes trips day after day, at any time, and earns more than 100£T. a month. During the free time left to him he works on his new European frame house (with corrugated metal roof). Its furnishings consist of a table, a small bench, a chair, a plank bed, a few mats and a number of oil cans, as well as parts for his car. He also owns a large radio that he had sent from Australia for 55£T. St., who impresses one as being restless, nervous
(157) and driven, and who is apparently overworked, says that he is trying to earn lots of money in order to give his children a good education (perhaps in Australia or New Zealand).

472 The Tongan V.F. (in Pangai, Lifuka) works his plantation, but
275 has in addition discovered a unique possibility of making money: he buys lemon extract and sugar at the shopkeeper's, his wife makes drinks from these and he sells them soda fountain style to his countrymen. To do this he sets himself up in the shed of the Copra Board in Pangai where there is a great deal of traffic and where the air is hot
(435) and dry. He charges sixpence for a glass of lemonade. On "good" days,
(434) that is, when it is particularly hot, he earns 5 to 8£T. V.F. well remembers his "best" day, December 31, 1951, on which he took in 13£T. With the money he defrays all special expenses of his family. Yet he
(454) lives in a simple house of ancient Tongan style and is saving a great deal of money because he wants to assure his sons of a "good future" (education).

472 To this category of people engaged in trade (that is, people carrying on independent activities purely for economic gain) belong especially the storekeepers (who procure goods in the chief towns and sell them on the islands); likewise to be classed in this category are individual Tongans and cooperatives that own sailboats and make

/241 cont./

472 these available for transporting persons and freight to make money. Finally, workmen of the chief towns (bakers, tailors, hair-cutters) [463] also belong to those engaged in business, while most of the carpenters and blacksmiths in the villages of the small islands do not yet show a purely acquisitive sense.

472 177 181 Thus a trade engaged in on the principle of permanent monetary gain has arisen in Tonga only as a result of European influence, and a few natives can today be called "tradesmen" in this sense. Only pressure for moneymaking resulting from overpopulation as well as a considerable increase of /242/ European influence will probably arouse economic acqusitiveness among the majority of Tongans and will be able to overcome the feelings and values of these natives /incompatible with such activity/.

H. Money in the Life of the Tongans

436 425 565 Money is something utterly new in Tonga. In the past the chiefs, in accordance with their authority, obtained freely everything they wished from commoners without compensation, (643)

643. Particularly esteemed workers, however, were repaid with gifts.

and the commoners among themselves probably acted according to the still current system of "anticipated reciprocity." (644)

644. Namely, request for something without direct return service (see pp. 136-137).

This arrangement was taken for granted by all Tongans.

436 [177] Today money plays an important role in the economic life of these people. Tongan currency, modeled on the British pattern, works with pounds, shillings and pence. The value of a Tongan pound (£T.) corresponds to an Australian pound. The bank notes issued by the Kingdom of Tonga are made out in the amount of 5 £T., 1 £T., 10 shillings and 4 shillings. In addition, there are Australian

/243 cont./

426 436 178 give it back, the creditor will not be much concerned and will regard the matter as settled, in accordance with the old Tongan custom.

436 434 There is no doubt that the natives have learned to value money and like it, but even the present high copra prices have not led to a "copra intoxication" and /244/ a "money fever." They often give away [431] whole loads of coconuts, and in the Copra Board in Neiafu, for example, it was observed in 1952 that the Tongans who could not be paid the full copra price as a result of a temporary shortage of pence coins, did not come back even after several weeks to pick up their three-or ten-pence.

454 436 For most of the natives the idea of saving, in the sense of a continuous accumulation of sums of money, is unfamiliar. About four decades ago many families were said to have saved relatively large sums in order to build. At that time several of the European-type frame houses were erected. Today large objects such as [428] dwellings, cement tanks and carts have often been inherited, and money [432] is spent on clothing and food and other European goods. Given the [439] normal demand, the to some extent, artificially produced demand by 434 the shopkeeper's promotion, and the relatively high prices, money is 436 soon spent in a large family.

436 454 472 Though the majority of Tongans do not use money purposefully (in the European sense), there is nevertheless no dearth of examples of deliberate management of money after the manner of whites. Thus, for example, F.S., a Tongan shopkeeper on Nomuka, through carefully considered management, within nine months (1951/52), increased his capital from 61 £T. to about 800 £T. and the two aforementioned truck drivers as well as the lemonade seller on Lifuka (648)

648. See pp. 361-364.

[181] may also serve as example of a wise use of money. These natives,

/244 cont./

454 [436] [472] [181] [177] [652] [453] however, represent a very small minority with an "un-Tongan business sense."--It is quite interesting that a larger group of Tongans, such as probably exists from what has just been said, seems to have taken over the European habit of money-saving, for at the end of 1951 the Government Savings Bank /cited in English/ reported 6134 savings accounts with deposits of 181,611£T. (649)

649. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 11.

However, it is more a matter of "safe-keeping of sums of money for a limited time: than a "continuous accumulation of deposits," for in the same year the withdrawals exceeded the deposits.

452 426 There is no real indebtedness among the Tongans, for shopkeepers throughout the Archipelago today sell mostly for cash. Only a few Tongan grocers on the smaller islands sell goods on credit. But they [671] demand of those countrymen, who /245/ seem to them unreliable, securities (for example, valuable mats); it also happens that natives pawn coconut harvests and other plantation products, though this is forbidden by law.

436 177 178 182 Money has had a certain negative influence on the social life of the Tongans inasmuch as some natives have gone over to selling food and other things to their countrymen, which were formerly, as a matter of principle, given them without direct quid pro quo. Some [425] Tongans even take advantage of the old traditional system of "anticipated reciprocity" by asking their neighbors for something and receiving this "for nothing," according to the old custom, while they themselves fulfill similar wishes only against payment in money. Another case is that of S.M. on Nomuka who immediately pays for everything he requests and receives from his neighbors, in order to avoid the obligation of having to give something himself, the next time, without being repaid. Thus money can have an alienating effect